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## Medieval Mercenary Forces in Ceylon.

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THE document, part of which is now edited, is from a collection of opuscula written by Parakumburē Mahānāyaka Sthavira in the Saka year 1744 (A.D. 1822/3) and now in the possession of the Weliwita family. Styled *Lakdiva Vidhiya*, it begins with a list of the countries in the Māyā, Pihiti and Ruhunu kingdoms, the first country being as usual Siduruvānā raṭa; the list, however, does not agree exactly with that of the ancient *Kaḍaim-pot*, having been in some instances modernized. It ends with the statement that the Bowl and Tooth relics are common to all three kingdoms. The text given below immediately follows. It is printed precisely as in the ola manuscript. As will be seen, it is far from perfect, individual letters and even words being omitted, and in consequence the meaning in places is obscure.

Before attempting to interpret the document it is desirable to discuss a number of terms, technical and otherwise, appearing therein.

I. *Sālāsma*.—The meaning of this word has been discussed in the paper on the Maḍavaḷa inscription in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, iii, pp. 237, 238. It seems to mean 'department', etc.

II. *Gam-vara sālāsma*.—The compound usually is translated 'excellent village', but the rendering seems to be of doubtful correctness. In the *Lēkammitiya* of Uḍapaḷāta it is used simply as meaning 'village'. The second part of the compound has been derived from *kara*, 'tax', from

the Tamil *vāram*, 'share of the produce', and from *vara*, 'turn' (*Ep. Zeyl.* ii, p. 290; iii, p. 112). There can, however, be little doubt that for all practical purposes it means 'due' or 'tax'. In the pre-Polonnaruva medieval period it is found in various combinations, for example in *kiri-var tel-var* (Mannar Kachcheri inscription, *ib.*, iii, pp. 100 ff.), the last named possibly being the same as *tel-badu* (*ib.*, ii, p. 18). The Maldivian *varuva* also is the 'produce tax'. As in early times it was the revenue and rights and not the soil which were granted by the king, it seems probable that our term really means 'village revenue or income', and this view is borne out by the phrase *gam-varak ādi-vū aya*, 'the income of a village and other revenue,' used in an inscription of Nissanka Malla (*ib.*, ii, p. 286). The *gam-vara sālāsma* of our document must be the later *nindagam-vasam*.

III. *Karavu-vara sālāsma*.—This compound appears in several inscriptions of Nissanka Malla and undoubtedly means the grain tax. What seems to be the same impost is found in the Velmīla inscription of Sena III (*Ep. Zeyl.*, iii, p. 300) under the name *de-karalin badu*. The word *karavu-vara* may be derived from *karal* + *vara*. Thus the name of the village Karalliyadda in Dumbara is spelt in the Hī lēkammiṭṭiya of that division and in the Gamvasam bini kat-hāl lēkammiṭṭiya as Karavuliyadda. This was the pronunciation at an earlier period also, for Karalliyaddē Baṇḍāra is called 'Carauliade Bandar' by Queyroz. The term *karal-badda* is still used in Dumbara, not for the grain tax, but for a form of usufructuary mortgage for a definite number of cultivation seasons. For the equivalence of *vara* and *badda*, see ii above. The *karavu-vara sālāsma*, as I understand the expression, means those holdings which paid *otu* and the like to the king and corresponds with the later *gamvasam* department.

IV. *Avi-vara sālāsma*.—The first part of the compound meaning 'weapons', the expression probably is the equivalent of the later *hēvā-vasam* department or that of the lascorins. *Vara* probably in this case, as certainly in the next, is derived from Skt. *vāra*, 'multitude, troops'.

V. *Pirivara sālāsma*.—The first word of course comes from Skt. *parivāra*, 'attendants, retinue', the word sometimes used to denote the service tenants. The *sālāsma* may indicate what in India would be called the village servants, namely the blacksmith, potter and the like, in short the Kandyan *baddas* when organized for the service of the State, or perhaps the *vidāna-gam*.

VI. *Aya-panḍuru*.—The second word in the compound denotes tribute in cash. The Dambulla and other inscriptions of Nissanka Malla clearly show that *aya* refers principally to the tax on produce, with the cash payment of *maṇḍaran*. Whether it has this meaning here perhaps is doubtful. The sentence ‘සියළු ලො මැණනනගෙන අය පමුරු ගනන්ලා මුල් බිඳු මෙ තෙකැයි නියම දැන’ is balanced by the succeeding ‘පමුරු මග මුල් බිඳු ගනන් හිම කොට’. The word *aya* thus may not have the meaning of ‘revenue’ at all, and the first sentence may be rendered ‘fixing the amount of *panḍuru* which is recovered from all the inhabitants of the world’, the word *vena* having dropped out.

In passing the expression *panḍuru-pat* may be noticed. The *Gamvasam bini kat-hāl lēkammiṭiya* mentions so many *pat* or single handfuls of rice as the contribution of each individual to the *kat-hāl*, but it is doubtful whether the present expression has any reference to this. It is more likely that it is a textual corruption of *panḍuru vaga*, which occurs later on in the document. The earlier form of ට did not curl over and is easily confused with ප, while a badly written ග is very like න.

VII. *Agampadi*.—In India the Akamuḍaiyar or Akampadiyar caste according to the *Tanjore Manual* quoted in Thurstan’s *Castes and Tribes of Southern India* derives the first form of its name from *akam*, ‘house’ or ‘earth’; this name then has two meanings, ‘householder’ and ‘landholder’. The second form is derived from another meaning of the same root, namely ‘inside’ and “signifies a particular caste whose office it was to attend to the business in the interior of the king’s palace or in the pagoda” (*op. cit.*, i,p.6). It is in this sense that the name is used in the north of Ceylon. The name is also assumed by a subdivision of the Maravar and Kallar. The three castes or rather tribes seem to be closely connected, as a Tamil proverb has it that the Kallar, Maravar, and Akampadiyar gradually becomes Vellalas. The Maravar at one time according to Thurston “were a fierce and turbulent race, famous for their military prowess” (*op. cit.*, v,p. 23); their head is the Sētupati of Ramnad. “To this class belonged most of the Poligars [Pāḷaiyakkārar] or feudal chieftains, who disputed with the English the possession of Tinnevely during the last, and first years of the present (nineteenth) century. As feudal chiefs and heads of a numerous class of the population, and one whose characteristics were eminently adapted for the role of followers of a turbulent chieftain, bold, active, enterprising, cunning and capricious, this class constituted

themselves, or were constituted by the peaceful cultivators, their protectors in time of bloodshed and rapine, when no central authority, capable of keeping the peace, existed. Hence arose the system of *Dēsha* and *Stalum Kāval*, or the guard of a tract of country comprising a number of villages against open marauders in armed bands, and the guard of separate villages, their houses and crops, against secret theft. The feudal chief received a contribution from the area around his fort in consideration of protection afforded against armed invasion" *Manual of the Tinnevely District*, 1879, quoted by Thurston, *op. cit.*, v pp. 27, 28). The blackmail also was known as *kuḍi-kāval* money (*ib.*, p. 30).

In Ceylon apart from the Tamil districts the *Agampāḍi* appear as a caste apparently only in *Demala Hatpattuva* and the neighbouring country. The name also is borne in various parts of the Island by certain families of the *Durayi* and other castes, most, if not all, it would appear, ultimately of foreign origin. The name, however, most commonly is found in literature as indicating the mercenaries or a class of mercenaries in the employ of the Sinhalese king, that is a body corresponding to the *paḍikāra hēvāpannē* or standing army of the *Kandyans*, largely foreigners, opposed to the militia of the *lēkamas* and *hēvāvasam*.

The first mention of the *Agampāḍi* army by name, so far as I have discovered, is in the *Nikāya Saṅgrahava* under the reign of *Parakrama Bahu I*, who despatched abroad an army of 24 lacs 25,000 'ran siri ban *Agampāḍi*', 'Agampāḍi girt with golden swords or daggers' (cf. *Mhv.*lvii 61, 'bandhiya cchurikam', and *Perevi Sandesaya*, 109, 'siri ban'). This chronicle, however, is much later in date than the event referred to. The *Agampāḍi* are next mentioned on one of the pillars of *Nissanka Malla's* Council Chamber at *Polonnaruva* as being under the control of the provincial governors; *aghampadi bhāraka maṇḍalikavarun*. In the Sinhalese *Ummagga Jātaka* of the reign of *Parakrama Bahu IV* these troops are mentioned on more than one occasion and are described as consisting of men fighting on elephants (*āt-āṇiya*), on horses (*as-āṇiya*), and in chariots (*ratha-āṇiya*), and of the *maha sēnāva* or infantry, precisely the traditional divisions of an Indian army and so no sure guide for Ceylon in the fourteenth century. Their remuneration is styled *viyadam* or *vrttiya*, which included food, drink, and clothing for the troops and supplies for the elephants and transport cattle; the officer in charge of this was the *viyadam-kāmiyā* (ed. D. H. S. Abayaratna, Colombo, 1910, pp. 152, 157).

The *Dambadeni Asna* describes the capital of Parakrama Bahu II; the three streets were the Hetṭi Vidiya, the Agampāḍi Vidiya, and the Parivāra Vidiya. This work is not contemporary with the events described in it. But one version gives the names of a number of military bodies, and among them the Mūkala Netti Agampāḍi mentioned in our text and in the Niyangampaya sannasa of A.D. 1373/4. In this last document the ‘සේනානායක අටදෙනා’ and the ‘දෙමළ සිංහල සේනාව’ appear in the body of the text; the corresponding persons in the attestations are ‘මුද්දිලිවරුන් ඇමදෙනා’, and ‘මුලනේන අගමළසින් ඇතුළු දෙමළ සිංහල සේනාවේ ඇමදෙනා’, ‘all the people of the Tamil and Sinhalese host including the Mulatēni Agampāḍi.’<sup>1</sup> This sannasa only exists in a copy, and *Mulatēni* (මුලනේන) doubtless is a corruption of *Mūkala Netti* (මුකල නෙත්ති), of which also below. The Agampāḍi army again is mentioned in the *Mayūra Sandesaya* (ed. Välipaṭanvila Dipaṅkara, 1923, v. 167) of the reign of Bhuvanaika Bahu V, and apparently for the last time in the Maḍavaḷa stone inscription of Parakrama Bahu VI, which record of a grant to silversmiths was cut in the presence of ‘the ten Aghampāḍis of Dumbara’ (*Ep. Zeyl.*, iii, p. 239).

The Agampāḍi people in the present document are divided among the departments as follows:—

Rāja Agampāḍi		Gam-vara sālāsma	
Muhukala	..	Karavu-vara	..
Netti	..	Avi-vara	..
Bāla	..	Pirivara	..

1. *Rāja Agampāḍi*.—The Akampāḍiyar caste has subdivisions known as Rājakulam and Rājavāsal, and the Maravar one called Rāyarvamsam. Our Rāja Agampāḍi presumably were those mercenary soldiers employed in the palace, and in view of the mention of ‘the ten Aghampāḍis of Dumbara’ in connection with an entirely non-military grant it is interesting to note that in the medieval grants of the pre-Polonnaruva period one of the officers despatched to the village concerned was a representative of the *Meykāppar* or bodyguard. The early medieval name of the mercenary troops as a whole is nowhere given, but we have references to the Demel Adhikāra and to Demel kābāli, presumably the holdings of these and other Tamil soldiers in different places.

1. For the eight sēnānāyakas, see *Journal R.A.S., C.B.*, xxxii (1931), p. 64.

2. *Muhukala Agampāḍi*.—In the Tamil dictionary *mūkalan* is given as a synonym of *rākṣasa*, and *Mūkala rāja* appears in Sanskrit as the name of a king. The word, however, may be Sinhalese and mean 'mixed'. In our document these soldiers appear in connection with the *karavu-vara sālāsma*, the grain-tax paying people, and apparently were the collectors or receivers of *paṇḍuru* or cash tribute. On the Polonnaruva Council Chamber pillar we have seen the provincial governors in charge of the Agampāḍi. This division of them is mentioned with the next in the *Dāmbadeṇi Asna* and in the Niyangampaya document; perhaps they formed the bulk of the mercenary force.

3. *Netti Agampāḍi*.—The Tamil word *nerri* means 'forehead', in which sense it has passed into Sinhalese in *netti-mālaya*, 'elephant head-dress', and also a 'division of an army', cf. Skt. *sēnāmukha*.

4. *Bāla Agampāḍi*.—Nothing seems to be known about this branch of the army. Perhaps they were similar to the Kandyan *kula-hēvavāsam* people, but more probably, as they were attached to the *Pirivara sālāsma*, they were, at least in origin, the camp-followers and serving people of the army.

Before leaving the subject of the Agampāḍi attention may be called to the use of *agam* in places where *gam* might be expected. The spelling in the text may be due to a clerical error, but the existence of the Tamil word *akam*, 'house', 'dwelling', from which the Agampāḍi by one account derive their name, has to be remembered.

VIII. *Mul-vara*.—The 'primary', 'original' tax. The sentences dealing with this perhaps are the most interesting in the document. The procedure at the beginning of the reign when all the *mul-vara* is recorded is:—

1. the amounts of (*aya*-)*paṇḍuru* are fixed;
2. the sowing extents of the land are ascertained;
3. after consultation of the four registers, presumably those of the four *sālāsma*s, the villages and fields are arranged in groups varying in extent from 3 to 32 *kiriyas*, that is from 12 to 128 amunams.<sup>1</sup>

1. *Ket vat*.—According to the *Pali-English Dictionary* the meaning of *khetta* is a field cultivated with paddy, peas (*mugga*, Sinh; *mum*), beans, etc., and *vattu* the house with its compound and appurtenances, in practice the modern *ge-vatta*. But in the tenth century the *ket vat* were irrigated and in one inscription *sihin-āṭi* was directed to be sown therein and not *mung-āṭi*; the meaning of *ge-vatta* thus seems to be excluded (*Ep. Zeyl.*, i, p. 33). In the time of Nissanka Malla *ket vat aya* is the equivalent of *karavu-vara*. In the gloss on the *Sapta-sūryodgamana Sūtra* the *ket vat* are irrigated fields. This presumably is the sense of the words in our text, though it is possible that dry fields are not excluded.

This might be interpreted to mean that the *mul-vara* was the lump assessment of a korale or similar division, which was apportioned among the villages, etc. A similar method was adopted in Burma, where the village was assessed at a certain sum and the villagers divided this sum among themselves. Though the widely differing rates appearing in the Portuguese Tombo favours local assessment at some earlier period, it does not follow that such assessment was a lump one. Nissanka Malla lays down specific rates of grain and cash to be paid and on each amunam. This would not have been the case if the assessment was a lump one without immediate reference to extents, and so the *mul-vara* may be the original assessment of each reign, practically a periodical revision. But the whole procedure possibly was honoured more in theory than in practice. The Kandyan registers at least show so many anomalies that revision in those days must have been the exception rather than the rule.

The division of the land into lots varying from 3 to 32 *kiriya*s in extent is interesting. In Kandyan times the whole of the paddy sowing extent of the country was divided for the purpose of *kat-hāl rājakāriya*, the pingo duty or acknowledgment of suzerainty, a payment not to be confounded with the old grain or produce tax, into *kat*, 'pingos'. These *kat* varied enormously in extent, 1 amunam being the unit in Udunuvara and Yatinuvara, 3 amunams in Four Korales, and according to D'Oyly 12 amunams in Seven Korales. This doubtless was the survival of some much older system of assessment for purposes of taxation. The unit of 32 *kiriya*s or 128 amunams, however, seems to have no relation to the unit of 3 *kiriya*s or 12 amunams. As the expression *gam ket vat* is used, the unit may not be for fields alone. I know of no unit approaching 128 amunams, but the expression *hāta pas amunu gamkārayā*, 'owner of 65 amunams', is in use indicative of a very large landowner. In Three Korales the *maha* or *mul-gamvasama* is said traditionally to have been of that extent, including both mud and high land, and to have paid 4 pingos, the *kuda* or *bāgē-gamvasama* of 35 amunams with 2 pingos, the *keraval-gam-vasama* of 16 amunams with 1 pingo, and the *kāl-gamvasama* of 8 amunams with a half pingo. Here again the subdivisions are not exact fractions of the unit. As there was frequently two *gamarāḷas* in a village and villages in ancient times were of large extent, the 128 amunams possibly may represent the largest village. The use of the number 65, now in use, instead of 64, which might have been expected on the analogy of Indian usage, is very remarkable.

*Gam-panḍuru* sometimes was paid in addition to the *kat-hāl* and also varied with the extent of the mud land.

IX. *Abaya badu*.—The first word being 'safety', 'security', the term may mean either (1) payment for security, that is for the services of the Agampāḍi, which is quite in keeping with the *kudī-kāval* money or blackmail recovered by the Maravar in India; or (2) payment for land, by which the tenant is secure. With this last may be compared the Malabar *abhaya*, *abhaya paṭṭōla karman*, 'written deed of lease', the old name of the *kāṇam* tenure, and also *abhaya badda*, said to be an obsolescent term in Kotmale for *jīvita badda*, 'life lease'. The term in our document is an unusual one to denote service tenants' payments and I have not come across it in any Lēkammiṭiya. A payment with the name of *Agampāḍi paṇam* occurs in the Portuguese Tombo in Navadun, Pasdun and Rayigam Korales, and of *Agampāḍi dākum* at Matara, but it is not clear whether this originally was a payment to the Agampāḍi or a caste tax; probably it was the latter.

X. *Suragam, Suṁgam*.—The second word is the usual one for 'inland customs', 'toll', that on the tavalams being *maḍi-huṁgam*. It is found in the Portuguese Tombo written 'juncão' in the sense of 'toll station'. It is also used for a trifling payment for *sāramāruva* or change of tenant. The idea of a small payment is found in Tamil in which language it has the meanings of 'toll, duty' and also of 'stealing, pilfering'.

Our text reads *suragam-mādi-mehel*, and the first word accordingly must be understood to imply something small. The Tamil *surukkam* means 'abridgment, epitome, smallness, decrease', but it is possible that the reading should be emended to *suṁgam*, the *binduva* having been copied in error as *o*. In either case the idea of a small payment is conveyed.

XI. *Mehel*.—This is from the Tamil *mēl*, 'high', 'above'. The Portuguese Tombo, vol. iii, fol. 31, records at Negombo a due called *mēl-vari*, which consisted of 1 larin paid by the purchaser to the king on every sale of land or of a slave. A term compounded of the same Tamil word is *mēlāṭsi*, of frequent occurrence in early medieval inscriptions. This seems to have been a due or tax of some kind, cf. *mīyāṭsi*, *nāḍ-āḍsi*, *ūr-āḍsi* (*South Indian Inscriptions*, iii, p. 226; *Epiigr. Indica*, xvii, p. 308) and also *mēl-vāram*.

(To be Continued.)



# Gascon Rala

## Adigar and Poet

**A** most romantic figure in Kandyan history and Sinhalese literature is Gascon Rala, a foreigner who flourished in the Sinhalese capital, cultivated the muses and rose to the highest office next to royalty, but was accused of an intrigue with the Queen of Kandy and executed. Local tradition, however, errs regarding his origin, nationality and the times in which he flourished. The traditional account of the man and his career has been recorded by James de Alwis in his 'Survey of Sinhalese Literature' now printed as an Introduction to his Sidat Sangrawa. He says:

"A day after the capture of Don Constantine,<sup>1</sup> a child was found under a tree. He was apparently of European extraction; and was presented by the King's courtiers to the reigning Prince,<sup>2</sup> the father of Rajasingha II, who in his clemency directed that every attention should be paid both to his health and education, directions which were strictly attended to by the ministers. Perhaps the fact of his having been found under a tree, and also of his name answering to the Sinhalese of a "Kong-tree" *gas-con*, has given rise to the tradition now current in Ceylon, that he derived his name from the above circumstance; but it is generally believed that the child was recognized by certain of the King's Portuguese subjects, and was called after his father, a Portuguese named Gascoigne,<sup>3</sup> who perished in the battle which had terminated immediately preceding the period of which we are now writing, A.D. 1640.<sup>4</sup>

Gascon evinced great aptitude for learning, and soon mastered the Sinhalese language. Possessed of a poetical turn of mind, he directed his attention to the Sinhalese classics; and especially the *Muse*. His talents were so extensive, and his attachment to his benefactor so great

1. Don Constantine de Sa de Noronha was not "captured." He fell fighting at Vellavaya on 25 August, 1630.

2. Senarat, 1604-1635

3. Gascoigne is not a Portuguese name.

4. See note 1

that even the narrow and illiberal policy of a despotic monarchy presented no objection to the highest offices of State being thrown open to this foreigner—the descendant of a malignant foe. He rose in due course of time to be Premier; and continued to receive the same attention from Rajasingha, which he had previously received from the then ruling sovereign, Senaratna. The extensive acquirements of Gascon failed not to produce that respect and esteem on the part of his sovereign, which they deserved. Deep respect and deep esteem in due time resulted in affection, and affection soon ripened into an intimate friendship, which permitted the Minister free access to the Royal household. Thus enjoying the confidence of his sovereign, Gascon was not only the adviser of His Majesty, but his associate and friend, and performed signal service to Ceylon by repressing many attempts of the Dutch, who soon followed the Portuguese in making inroads<sup>1</sup> in the Kandyan provinces. His many and valuable exploits are narrated in a poem, composed by himself during the confinement which preceded his execution, brought about under circumstances which we shall now detail. At the time he was in high favour with the King, the Queen-consort was taken ill; and on reference to her horoscope it was ascertained that a Bali offering to the unpropitious planets could alone restore her to health. Directions were accordingly given for the ceremony of the Bali offering, and for the preparation of a figure, as is usual, of the sick personage. Gascon (for we shall call him such) superintended the ceremony; and in an unlucky hour, unable to restrain his love for the Queen, and to secure a correct representation of her person at the hands of the painter, directed him to mark a part of the figure with a mole, adding, that without it the figure was not a faithful likeness. The circumstances created suspicion in the King's mind; and led to an inquiry, which resulted in the incarceration of the Prime Minister.

No person now felt more sincerely for the critical situation of Gascon, and none contributed more to allay those feelings of anguish which had now taken possession of his mind, than the Queen, the cause of his misfortunes. A secret correspondence followed, and we are enabled to present the reader with the two concluding stanzas of that correspondence, one of which is from the Queen, and the other, in reply, from the Minister.

1. The Dutch made no inroads on the Kandyan Kingdom except once in the reign of Kirtisri.

From the Queen to the Adikar

තුන්කල	තුමුල වනයේ මල් රස නොවි	ද
කන්කල	ගජන් කොපුලක බිඟු රොනට වැ	ද
කන්කල	පහර වැනි නිරිඳුට අසුව ඉ	ද
පින්කල	භීතනුවනි දැන් තැවෙනු කුමට	ද

Versified

“As the honey bee, heedless thro’ the forest flies,  
Where the many coloured flowers tempt him with their rich supplies,  
And by fragrance strange allured on the tusked head alights  
Victim of the flapping ears all amid the stol’n delights ;  
Thus, adored love, art thou captive of thy king and lord ;  
Yet, dash sorrow from thy brow, cease to mourn my dear, adored.

“O meritorious lover ! wherefore dost thou lament, now that thou art captured by the king ! captured like the bee, which, without enjoying the sweets of flowers in the mighty forest during the three seasons, alighted upon the elephant’s cheek with view to extract honey, and was struck by the elephant’s ears.”

Answer by the captive Minister

විසැස්	කමලාව රස පහස නොවිද	මා
දසිස්	දුනි පොරණ ඇස දුටු පමණට	මා
වෙසෙස්	නුඹේ අමසුරු පහස ලත් පෙ	මා
මහිස්	එකක් හියෙනම් නුඹේ නමට කී	මා

“Lanka’s giant king enthralled, only by beauty’s sight,  
Laid down his twice five heads, uncropp’d the flower of Love’s  
delight ;  
Then why should I, a happier swain, who with the gods above,  
Have revelled at the banquet rare of thy ambrosial love,  
Repine with my one head to atone for my bold adventure,  
To gain what sweetens human lives as long as they endure.

“Since Rawana in days of yore offered for Lakshmee (Seeta) his ten heads, upon the mere gratification of his eye sight, without enjoying connubial happiness ; what signifies if my only head fall for thy sake whose ambrosial love I have enjoyed.”

During Gascon’s confinement, Rajasingha, like Queen Elizabeth in reference to the Earl of Essex, was in great agitation. He felt a perpetual irresolution between resentment and inclination, pride and compassion. He, like the English Queen who longed to see her ring hourly, expected an application for mercy, and indeed resolved upon a pardon under circumstances which might not compromise his own dignity, but at the same time give weight to the Minister’s faithful services to the State. But, as in the case of Essex, the perfidy of one in whom Gascon confided, and treachery equalled only by that

of the Countess of Nottingham, conspired to keep back from Rajasingha a poem, which was addressed to him by the Minister, and by which he intended to enlist the King's sympathies on his side. No poem alas reached Rajasingha, no application for mercy, no intercession of a penitent Queen. On the contrary additional evidence of the Minister's intrigues with the Queen was laid by his enemies before the sovereign. The Minister's fate was now sealed, and his execution soon followed."

Such is the tradition, but contemporary documents existing in the Torre do Tombo show that this story of the poet's origin, nationality and times are grossly inaccurate. These documents are authentic letters written by the Catholic priests who were in Kandy and who knew and conversed with the poet-Adigar, especially a letter of Father Ignacio de Almeyda, the Oratorian, who was in the King's court at Kandy and Hanguranketa, and who, after this letter was written,<sup>1</sup> was seized by the Dutch in Colombo and transported to Holland, and another of Father Jacome Goncalvez, the great Catholic writer and poet whose literary studies and writings in the Sinhalese language brought him in touch with Gascon.

In a letter<sup>2</sup> dated from Hanguranketa,<sup>3</sup> 20 February, 1713, Father de Almeyda says:

"The Adigar after the controversy which Father Jacome Goncalvez had with the Calvinist gentleman,<sup>4</sup> is inclined to our religion, not only he but all his people. He favours those who follow it, and though he is kept back by worldly considerations from embracing it he is now with

1. In 1715.

2. MS. in the Torre do Tombo Liv.

3. King Narendrasinha transferred his court to Hanguranketa, where he gave a plot of land to Father Almeyda for a church and while that was being built he assigned to him a house that had belonged to Antonio d'Orta, where the King twice visited him.

4. Nanclairs de la Nerolle. He was not an ambassador, but a messenger sent by Admiral de la Haye. The ambassadors sent to Kandy by de la Haye, are Brigadier des Fontaines, who remained in Kandy, and M d'Orgeret de Harmes, who returned to de la Haye with a Sinhalese force. But de la Haye was so badly in need of supplies promised by the Kandyan King but not sent, that he set out for India and sent a message to Kandy by de la Nerolle asking for supplies for the small French garrison left behind. (See *Relation ou Journal d'un Voyage fait Aux Indes Orientales*, Paris 1677, pp. 100-101; *La Premire Escadre de la France aux Indes* by Th. Delort, Paris 1875, pp. 30-33). But de la Nerolle took himself very seriously and claimed to be an ambassador from the King of France to the King of Kandy. Knox (*His. Relation*. 183-6), describes how the King ordered his men to "beat and clap him in chains." He married and settled down in Kandy, and was a very bitter opponent of the Catholic priests, and was even disliked by the King on that account (Valentyn 202). He even wrote to the Dutch predikant Simon Kat and alleged his services to the Reformed religion. The Company actually gifted lands to him in reward for it (See 2 CLR i 263-4). His descendants lifted de la Nerolle to the rank of 'General' (JCBRAS v 155) and even believed that he had been a Duke!

God's grace convinced, and he declared himself a Catholic before the King and wished to come to church and be married to his wife; likewise his mother, sister and the whole family. I hope in the Lord that they will soon do so.

The name Adigar is the name of an office, next to that of the King in the Kingdom of Candea. No King is ever known to have given that office to one who was not a Sinhalese or of almost royal lineage. Our Adigar, whose name is Pedro Gascon, and who succeeded in gaining that good fortune is the son of a Frenchman,<sup>1</sup> who came to this court years ago in company with the ambassador. The father of Pedro Gascon married a *mistica* in Kandy and had by her a son who is the said Adigar, and a daughter; and as he was a Calvinist the wife and the whole family follow his religion.

This Pedro Gascon is a man of great parts and therefore the reigning King,<sup>2</sup> when a prince, had a great esteem of him. After he came into his kingdom when the Disawas, who are his chiefs and councillors, revolted<sup>3</sup> to enthrone another King, the legitimate King absented himself for a time in secret; and during that time Pedro Gascon being his favourite had much to suffer and was even in danger of losing his life. But as it happened that the people, who did not want the intruder, joined the legitimate King, who entered the city and seized and cut off the heads of almost all the rebels. On this occasion and because Pedro Gascon had suffered so many troubles for him, as well as because he is much inclined to whites and did not trust the Sinhalese [chiefs] he made him Adigar so that all Justice and military matters might be under him.

When this Pedro Gascon was young he was a pupil of Father Joseph Vaz<sup>4</sup> who at the request of his father taught him to read and write Portuguese.<sup>5</sup> And as he was the son of a heretic opposed to the cult of the Queen of the Angels, the said Father used to give him as a writing exercise 'Hail Mary full of grace, etc.' or something similar. This pupil even after leaving school always treated the Venerable Father with great devotion and courtesy and never liked

1. Of the Frenchmen in Kandy Knox mentions only four by name, Du Plassey, Jean Bloom, le Serle and la Rocha.

2. Sri Vira Narendrasinha (1707-1738)

3. In 1707 soon after his accession. Beknopte Historie, 476

4. Who was in Kandy, 1690-1711

5. Portuguese was the *lingua franca* in which alone one could communicate with foreigners.'

to be seated in his presence. And it may be that by his prayers God will communicate to him the grace to come to the knowledge of the true faith, since we may well believe that he who used to pray for those whom he knew and those whom he did not know, will not fail to beg the Lord for one of his pupils."

In a letter dated 24 February 1713, Father Jose de Menezes the Superior of the Mission of Ceylon informs the Prefect of the Congregation of the Oratory of Goa, that Father Goncalvez is busy with his literary compositions and is helped therein by Gascon Adigar. More information about the Gascons is given by Father Goncalvez himself in a letter dated from Candea, 8 September, 1712:

"I came to the new city of Angrenqueta [Hanguranketa] where the King now resides. On that very day Father Ignacio de Almeyda left it for Ceitavaca [Sitawaka] on a certain business of the said King. We met on the way, and when I arrived in the city the King saw me from a distance and inquired after me. On the following day I presented him through one of his courtiers a curiosity which Father Jose de Jesu Maria had given me. I was in the house in which Father Ignacio was but as I was alone and there was no one to look after me<sup>1</sup> the mother of the good Adigar took me and lodged me with great honour in the house of her daughter having prepared a room for the purpose. There I remained more than a month and a half, and that lady treated me with much undeserved kindness, giving food all the time to my two servants and sometimes to three, and not failing also to do the same to the outsiders who often came to see me, as if I were a member of the family. The Senhor Adigar behaves towards me with great friendship.

On the return of Father Ignacio I left the said house and remained together in the other where Father Ignacio was formerly. Almost every night and also several times I used to go to the house of the Adigar to talk to him,<sup>2</sup> and I often dined in the house of his mother. On account of this friendship and meetings the Adigar began to confide in me and disclose to me matters of his conscience, and at present I am trying to speak to him about the matters of our Holy Religion and to put to him the necessity of embracing it for the good of his soul. May God help me with his grace so that I may do it as I ought.

1. Father Goncalvez was at this time in very poor health.

2. Father Goncalvez discussed the niceties of the Sinhalese language with the Adigar.

For as I find myself under such obligation to him for his kind hospitality and that of his mother, I do not fail to own myself in his debt, in payment of which I beg Your Reverence to be pleased to send me the things mentioned in the list, asking some charitable and devout persons to pay for them, as Your Reverence knows that without some such demonstration of our sentiments we cannot gain the goodwill of those who favour the affairs of Christianity; and the Adigar has at our request given to the Addapanar the village of Timily and the *sittu*<sup>1</sup> of passport to the dhoneyes of the Christians in spite of the attempts of the Careas, a thing which greatly animated the Christians and accredited the missionaries.

Once when I was in the house of the sister of Senhor Adigar I spoke about the things of our Holy Faith saying that for the honour and hospitality shown to us we could give no better thanks than by pointing out the true way of salvation. They replied that they did not know what to say to me nor dared to do so but that a gentleman<sup>2</sup> had taught them as one well versed in the religion they professed and that if they saw me talk this matter over and discuss with him the reasons for and against, they would be disposed to embrace the religion which seemed the truer. Upon this I asked them to bring the gentleman before me. They brought him one night and after the preliminary inquiries I put him some questions about the religion he followed and taught, and with the help of God in a few words I showed him to be in the wrong in such sort that he could not say anything to the contrary. [*Here the writer gives a detailed account of the discussion*]. All the people in the house of the Adigar and of his mother lost the high opinion they had of their master and showed themselves greatly inclined to our Holy Religion; and if they have not yet resolved to embrace it, it is because of some human considerations. We must therefore pray much to God to assist them with his grace to overcome the obstacles which the devil, as the enemy of our souls, puts forward and that all things might turn to the greater glory of the Lord.

After your Reverence<sup>3</sup> left this mission Father Ignacio and I wrote to you about the diamond which the King wants. If the Hollanders knew of it Your Reverence knows well what extremes they

1. A letter, note or certificate, *Anglice* 'chit'.

2. See p. 396, n. 4.

3. Father Manoel de Miranda, Prior of the Congregation, to whom this letter is addressed, was a missionary in Ceylon from 1705 to 1711 when he was elected Prior.

would go to procure it and present it to the King. But he in his sovereign pride does not wish that they should know of it. And as those of the palace told him that we, being of Goa, might procure it for him he made it known to us because of the confidence with which he treats us. Let Your Reverence consider the importance of this matter and speak to some devout and charitable persons who desire the welfare of the mission and try to send the diamond. It will do if it is one of 1500 or 2000 xerafins.

The King would not mind paying its value, but Your Reverence will see whether it is proper for us to accept it because though he knows us to be poor in these lands it would be of great value to us to be thought influential and in easy circumstances in our own, and that we come here only for the welfare of souls. Moreover he will thereby be more inclined to favour the Christians and to honour our missionaries who depend so much on the protection of his arm to defend us against the heretical Hollanders who always seek means to drive us from the island, and make our churches and chapels respected by the Moors and gentiles who are awaiting occasion and opportunity to make us displeasing to the King; and though we trust in the goodness of God to deliver us from all these evils yet we should not fail to use human means also. However Your Reverence who has so much experience of this country will dispose matters as you judge best."

These extracts show how very kindly the Adigar dealt with the Catholic priests. But these frequent intercourse with a person who, however high in the King's esteem, had many enemies caused much trouble to Father Goncalvez when the Adigar's tragic end came. The date of that event cannot<sup>1</sup> be ascertained from these documents. The Adigar was accused of intrigue with the Queen and put to death. He was believed to have amassed great wealth, but when his house was searched nothing was found there. This gave occasion to some persons who had a grudge against Father Goncalvez to try to set the King against him. He had written a book some years previously in which he refuted various religions and established the truth of Christianity. As this work, like the other compositions of the Father, was written in very elegant Sinhalese it was widely read, even the King himself being one of the readers. When complaints

1. We only know that there was a new first Adigar, Rammalaka, by 1721. The Queen of Narendra died in 1721 (Valentyn 351).



were made to the King that he had written against Buddhism the monarch took no notice of them. Now they profited by the opportunity to accuse Father Goncalvez of being the Treasurer of Gascon Rala.

Accordingly one night the church was surrounded by troops and the Father led prisoner to the palace in the morning. He was not produced before the King but before some of his ministers who now questioned him, not about the treasures of Gascon, but about the book he wrote. The Father valiantly contended that he wrote the book as part of his duty to teach the way of truth, that there was nothing in it which he did not prove by reason, and that it was no offence against the King but rather it was his duty as a loyal subject to teach the truth.<sup>1</sup> This the ministers professed to report to the King who was in another part of the palace. On their return however they did not refer to the book but asked in the King's name what he had done with the large sum of money which the Adigar Pedro Gascon had left with him. The Father had some inkling of the charge and had brought the keys of the church with him. He therefore offered the keys to the ministers and told them to go and search the church and the presbytery if they liked. The ministers returned to report this to the King and brought the unexpected order that he was to be forthwith tortured and executed. The Father could scarcely believe that such was the decision of the King who had known him for so many years, who had read his books and who had once invited him to the palace to discuss religion and refute the Calvinist in his royal presence. Though the ministers were in a very threatening mood the Father remained unmoved. Soon, however, the King sent order to set the priest free to return home. The King continued to deal with him as before often consulting him<sup>2</sup> on matters of State and following his advice in preference to that of his ministers.

Thus from the contemporary writings it is clear that Gascon Rala was the son of a Frenchman, not of a Portuguese: that he was born and bred in Kandy, and had a wife, mother and a sister in Kandy; and that he was Adigar under Narendrasinha, 1707-1738. There is no data sufficient to determine the date of his execution. The charge against him may

1. The details of this incident are taken from the Life of Father Goncalvez written by Sebastiao do Rego, MS. Torre do Tombo.

2. These documents tell of many interesting facts relating to the dealings between the Oratorian Fathers and the Kings of Kandy.

be true, but there is nothing in his character as known to the priests to support the charge. The verses attributed to him and quoted by Alwis<sup>1</sup> besides being poor poetical composition are far too self-condemnatory and unnecessarily incriminating to be written by a man awaiting execution. There is a Sinhalese manuscript entitled *Gascon Adikara Siwupada* attributed to him. Another the *Nokkadumāla* are ballads about the intrigue written long after the event, and, to judge from the British Museum Catalogue, are as erroneous as the tradition which Alwis and Forbes have recorded.

S. G. P.

1. As well as those quoted by Major Jonathan Forbes *Eleven Years in Ceylon* I 359, II 245.

# The Last Treaty of Peace

BETWEEN THE KING OF KANDY AND THE PORTUGUESE

1633

BY

FATHER S. G. PERERA, S. J.

(Continued from p. 354)

When the foregoing articles of peace and perpetual friendship had been drawn up and concluded between the said ambassadors and His Excellency by mutual consent, the said Viceroy called upon the ambassadors to produce the powers they had from their King to swear to this contract of peace as set forth therein, and there was presented by them a writing<sup>1</sup> the tenor of which was as follows:

## Credentials of the Ambassadors

I, the King of Candea etc. make known to the most Excellent Lord, Dom Miguel de Noronha, Conde de Linhares or to whomsoever else that occupies his post, that I am sending as my ambassador Jasundra Mudeliar of my Council, Dissawa of Urunuvara,<sup>2</sup> or in his absence Curuppu Rala who comes with him, to treat of the peace and to swear to the same in that court<sup>3</sup> should the Viceroy so desire it; the which peace shall be in conformity with my articles and instructions and as demanded by my rights in any tribunal that shall be necessary; and that entire trust and faith be reposed in them in all things, I have given this letter signed by me and sealed with the seal of my royal arms, at Candea on the 4th of December, 1632.

SRI



Seal

In terms of the said powers the ambassadors of the said King of Candea Jasundra Mudeliar of his Council and Dissawa of Urunuvara, and Curuppu Rala, accepted the settlement which His Excellency made on each article of peace which they brought from their said King and promised in his name and in that of the other kings that shall succeed him to fulfil, observe, hold and maintain, all things as set forth therein

1. Original with signature of King and seal. Liv. 10 de pazes.
2. Udunuwara.
3. Court of the Viceroy at Goa.

under the penalty that if King Maastana did not do so he shall pay to the State for any loss and damage that shall ensue on the State by the non-fulfilment of the said peace. And as the Lord Viceroy said that the powers inserted in these articles were insufficient because of the change that has been made, the said ambassadors produced afresh the signature of their said King on a blank sheet of paper,<sup>1</sup> which is affixed hereto, along with a *chapa*<sup>2</sup> of the said King in a silver ring which is left in the keeping of the Secretary of State. Upon this the said Lord Count Viceroy in the name of the King Our Lord accepted the said terms of peace and promised to fulfil and observe and maintain this friendship on behalf of himself and the other Viceroys and Governors of this State that shall come in future, under the same penalty of paying to the said King of Candea for any loss, expense or damage that shall ensue by the non-fulfilment of the contract.

All of which the said ambassadors accepted in the name of their King, and in confirmation thereof the said Lord Count Viceroy swore on a missal on which he placed his right hand, and likewise the said ambassadors of the King of Candea also took an oath by God Almighty and by their pagode and by their King according to their custom, that they agreed to this settlement by virtue of the said powers which they produced and the *chapa* of the said King and his signature on the blank sheet of paper.

And a copy of this was sent to the said King by the said ambassadors of his, signed by the Lord Viceroy and by the said ambassadors and the other persons named above, so that the King might order it to be proclaimed in his realms as the Lord Viceroy himself will order to be done in this court and in Columbo.

Thus done

Sgd. FRANCISCO GONCALVEZ

At Goa on the day month and year above named.

I, the Secretary Ambrosio de Freitas de Camara  
caused this to be written

Sgd. CONDE DE LINHARES

Sgd. ☞ Signature of Jasundra Mudeliar :

☞ Signature of Coruppu Rala

Sgd. Francisco de Moura

Sgd. Francisco de Mello d'Eca

Sgd. Goncalo Pinto da Fonseca

1. This blank sheet with the signature of the King and seal in red wax is in Liv. 10 de *pazes*, f. 99

2. 'Stamp' from Hind. *chtrap* Anglo-Indian '*chop*' see Hobson Jobson 207-8.

## Record of the Oath

At Goa on the 15th day of April of 1633 in the apartments of the most Excellent Lord, Conde de Linhares, Viceroy and Captain-General of India, he being present and also Jasundra Modeliar of the Council of the King of Candea and Dissava of Uranora and Crupurala ambassadors of the King of Candea Maastana, with the interpreter of the embassy Dom Diogo, and the Secretary of State, Ambrosio de Freitas de Camara, and the other gentlemen and persons named in the minutes of the peace written above, the said Lord Count Viceroy ordered a missal to be brought and placing his right hand thereon swore in the presence of the said ambassadors to observe and fulfil all the terms of the said contract in the manner set forth in them and promised that the same would be done by the Viceroys and Governors that succeed him; and then the said ambassadors swore also in the name of their said King by their pagode and upon the said King Maastana, saying that in his name and that of his successors they swore to fulfil the said contract of peace and friendship in all the articles contained therein without question: Of which act this present record was taken which the said Lord Count Viceroy signed along with the said ambassadors and witnesses who were present at the act.

And I the Secretary Ambrosio de Freitas da Camara caused it to be written.

- Sgd. The Conde de Linhares
- Sgd. ☞ Signature of Jasundra Modeliar
- Sgd. ☞ Signature of Corupurala
- Sgd. Dom Francisco de Moura
- Sgd. Lourenco de Mello d'Eca
- Sgd. Goncalo Pinto da Fonseca.

# The British Monopoly of Cinnamon

BY

COLVIN R. DE SILVA, B.A., Ph.D. (LOND.)

*Bar-at-Law.*

*(Continued from p. 364.)*

## Colebrooke's Recommendations

Colebrooke therefore proposed<sup>1</sup> that the Government plantations should be sold or leased at low rates, in small lots, to individuals. Re-occupation of the abandoned plantations was to be encouraged, and free collection in the Government jungles permitted. The Government was to purchase, at a regulated price, all cinnamon tendered by individuals. The Cinnamon Department was to be abolished, and the Agents of Government entrusted with the management of those plantations which remained in Government hands. A small hired labour force might be kept up on these, and a saving of over £20,000 would thus be made. The market was to be transferred to Ceylon. But Government was not to aim at high monopoly prices. Cost of production in Ceylon was about 6d. per lb. If a price of 2s. 6d. per lb. was secured, and if the Eastern market was recaptured, and sales expanded to one million lbs. Government would gain £100,000 profit a year. At the same time it would save some £17,000 now spent on transport etc. to, and the maintenance of an establishment in, Europe. Further, so as gradually to relieve Government of all connection with the trade, the option either of free sale or of sale to Government ought to be allowed to individuals. An export duty of 2s. per lb. would ensure an equal revenue on such cinnamon. Indeed, as the customs revenue would benefit in other ways, it might even be less. The duty should be a flat rate so as to encourage the production of the finer sorts. If the export was restricted to Colombo and Galle, where there were capacious warehouses, the revenue would then be safeguarded and an entrepot trade encouraged. Finally, the Cinnamon Code should be abolished. Individual enterprise would then have full rein. Wages would improve with the removal of Government-enforced caste

1. Colebrooke's Report 40 ff.

obligations. Capital would accumulate in the hands of the people. Land would be thrown into cultivation; and individuals could concentrate on the production and sale of a natural product of Ceylon, instead of artificially encouraged exotics. "Independently of the injustice and severity of the existing regulations, and the great expense incurred by Government," concluded Colebrooke, "the profit derived from the monopoly is in no degree proportioned to the injury it has done the inhabitants, and generally to the resources of the country, on which other and important branches of revenue must depend." <sup>1</sup>

### Horton's Counter Proposals

Horton countered criticism with criticism, and proposals with proposals. He stressed the need of gradualness and caution. If the monopoly is done away with the same "ruinous and distrustful precipitancy" <sup>2</sup> as compulsory labour, he said, and an export duty substituted, "the Revenue will receive a blow from which it never can recover, and from that hour the Colony will *rapidly retrograde*." <sup>3</sup> If viewed in proper perspective, the system was not "injurious and oppressive," <sup>4</sup> The number of convictions for breach of the cinnamon laws in 1832 was twenty, and the total of fines eighty eight pounds. The revenue thus protected was £147,549. On the other hand, a revenue of £73,682 from ten other sources necessitated 182 convictions with a total of £368 in fines. <sup>4</sup> Barnes's policy of transplantation and destructions had narrowed the incidence of the cinnamon laws. <sup>5</sup> That wages were inadequate was untrue. Hired labourers were now freely engaged at 4½d. instead of the former 6d. a day. <sup>6</sup> The proposed system would encourage smugglers to whom the coasts of Ceylon gave considerable facility. <sup>7</sup> A duty which was 600% on the cost of production was a direct incitement to them. The Government jungles were paralleled by the French Government forests—they were public property from which Government drew an income. <sup>8</sup> Colebrooke's proposals amounted to a free gift of Government property to the Chaliyas. To freedom of cultivation he was agreeable. That was already the

1. Ibid. 41

2. Ibid. 41.

3. Ibid.

4. Colebrooke's Report 41.

5. C. O. 54. 127, Horton to Goderich, 30th March. 1832.

6. C. O. 54. 188, Horton to Goderich, 26th October, 1833.

7. C. O. 54, 128, Horton to Goderich, particularly the enclosures.

8. C. O. 54, 127, Horton to Goderich, 30th March, 1833.

case in the Kandyan Provinces, where Government was the sole purchaser. The crux of the matter was freedom of sale.<sup>1</sup> Cassia at 5½d. a lb. could not be ousted by cinnamon at 9s. per lb. Colebrooke argued for a sale of a million pounds at a reduced price, with a low export duty. "But he totally forgets that the test would be whether the money price received for these million lbs. would equal the money price received for a more restricted quantity. I contend that the sale of a luxury, produced by nature in one particular spot, is not to be governed by the same principles as the sale of a monopolised necessary, or of a luxury which has *become* a necessary, which I do not consider cinnamon to be at the present moment; or likely to become at a future period.

Horton did not stop at mere destructive criticism. He produced a scheme<sup>2</sup> calculated to remove the objections to the existent system, which would nevertheless safeguard the revenue. Notice was to be given that the Ceylon Government was prepared to part with all its preserved plantations to individuals or corporate bodies who would engage to deliver cinnamon to Government at a fixed price. Private proprietors were to be allowed either to eradicate the cinnamon on their property, or to deliver it to Government at a regulated price. A licensing system was to be instituted to prevent smuggling. Periodical Government sales of announced quantities would take place at Colombo. Whatever quantity did not find a purchaser would be forwarded for sale in London. But such quantity, together with that sold to the Merchants, was not to exceed in any one year the quantity sold in the preceding year.

This was clearly a proposal to apply in extenso the system that prevailed in the Kandyan Provinces. It was also dangerously similar to the 1822 experiment which had so disastrously failed. What Horton proposed was no more and no less than the freedom of production and a monopoly of sale.

### The Abolition of the Monopoly

The British Treasury considered the various proposals and adopted a system of its own. Its sole concern was financial. The opinions and the proposals of the Treasury were outlined in a Minute dated the 18th September, 1832.<sup>3</sup>

1. C. O. 54, 127, Horton to Goderich, 31st March, 1833.
2. C. O. 54, 128, Horton to Goderich, 20th May, 1833.
3. C. O. 54, 119, Treasury, Minute 18th September, 1832.



“My Lords are fully convinced that the monopoly is attended with many objections both in principle and in practice, but they observe that the Revenue derived from it has always been disbursed for the service of the Colony and has consequently afforded the means of relieving the inhabitants from other contributions which they must have been called upon to furnish.”

The financial reforms which were being instituted necessitated a revenue of only £50,000 from cinnamon. The Treasury saw no point in retaining the monopoly but transferring sales to Ceylon. That would merely remove the competition of the London market and leave Government at the mercy of a few local men. The best method was the imposition of an export duty, which would incidentally abrogate the “vexatious and oppressive” cinnamon laws. They therefore ordered that Government should, as soon as practicable, cease all participation in the production of cinnamon. No further consignments to London were to be made on Government account. The Government gardens were to be rented out or ultimately sold. The rents were to be paid in cinnamon if necessary. The Cinnamon Code was to be repealed. An export duty of 3s. per lb. was to be instituted as a flat rate, regardless of quality. But the Government of Ceylon was given the option of reducing it if necessary. The stock of cinnamon in England was 4,688 bales. Four sales would be necessary to clear this quantity. Therefore the new system was to come into operation from 10th July, 1833. As the Government of Ceylon had a considerable stock in hand, and as this was likely to be swelled at first by the new system, Government was to institute periodical public sales in Ceylon in order to clear its stock. Such cinnamon was to be put up for sale at a reserve price of 3s. 6d. for first quality, 2s. for second and 9d. for third. Thus, it would not compete with private cinnamon to the detriment of the latter. The manufacture of cinnamon oil on account of Government was to be discontinued and the stock in hand sold by public auction.

The instructions<sup>1</sup> which accompanied this Minute advised the sale or lease of the plantations at even a low rate, whether in money or in produce. Till this was accomplished, they were to be placed in charge of the Collectors of the Districts. Free collection in the jungles was to be permitted.

1. C. O. 55, 74. Goderich to Horton, 12th October, 1832.

The provisions for the abolition of the monopoly were embodied in a regulation of the 9th of July, 1832.<sup>1</sup> The cinnamon laws were repealed, a duty of 3s. per lb. was imposed, and the export was confined to Colombo and Galle. Smuggling was carefully guarded against by instituting a system of licence for the removal of any quantity exceeding 10 lbs.; and requiring returns of stocks in the possession of individuals. These provisions were similar to the Arrack regulations. The export of cinnamon plants or seeds was declared illegal; the penalty being 10s. per plant or oz. of seeds.

### Criticisms of the New System

The new system was attacked both by Horton and by Colebrooke.<sup>1</sup> Both agreed that the duty of 3s. was too high. Burdened with such an imposition, Ceylon cinnamon could never oust Cassia or even compete against foreign cinnamon. Also, the high upset prices negated the avowed object of Government to run off its stock as quickly as possible. What with the export duty, and the cost of transport (which was about 8d. per lb.) the average cost of Government cinnamon to a purchaser would be about 5s. 9d. per lb. by the time it come on the London market. And the prevalent prices averaged only 6s. 6d. per lb. Indeed, better quality Government cinnamon, which sold for about 7s. per lb., could not be brought to market except at a loss, as it would cost merchants 7s. 2d. per lb.

Horton pointed out an additional difficulty. Under the new system, there were three competitors in the Ceylon market—Government with its high upset prices, the private proprietor, and the peeler who collected in the Government jungles.<sup>2</sup> Government could not compete with these latter at all, and the last would easily undersell both the former. For even at 1s. per lb., “an enormous wage”<sup>3</sup> those who employed peelers in this manner would undersell everybody else. Horton pointed out that of 1,179,900 lbs. in stock, 705,500 lbs. came from sources now out of Government control.<sup>4</sup> Government could never face such competition. Moreover, jungle cinnamon was coarse, and would discourage the private proprietor who endeavoured to

1. C. O. 54. 145, Colebrooke to Stanely, 3rd October, 1833.

2. C. O. 54. 128. Horton to Goderich, 20th May, 1833. enclosure Question 7.

3. Horton.

4. C. O. 54. 120. Horton to Goderich, 20th May, 1833, encl. Question 7.

produce good quality cinnamon.<sup>1</sup> The merchants in London<sup>2</sup> and in Ceylon feared that Ceylon cinnamon would henceforth be ill-assorted, and of poor quality. It would, therefore, fall into disrepute. "I consider," concluded Horton, "the sweeping measure...of repealing all regulations obstructing the free cultivation, possession, and sale of cinnamon, *contemporaneously with the transfer of sales to this Island*, and prior to the disposal of the stock in hand, as a measure fraught with the most dangerous consequences to the prosperity and finances of Ceylon, more especially as coupled with the information that any 'deficit' of Revenue must be met by reduction of expenditure here, and that we are neither to expect temporary assistance from England nor to have the power of meeting such a 'deficit' by a loan raised in this part of the world."<sup>3</sup> So impressed was Horton by his own convictions, that he even canvassed the idea of delaying to carry his peremptory instructions into effect. But he concluded that he had not the powers legally to do so.

Horton's gloomy anticipations, however, proved incorrect. The income to Government from cinnamon continued to average about £120,000 a year.<sup>4</sup> In 1836, the figures were £127,165, of which £74,631 accrued from the export duty.<sup>5</sup>

### The Period of Export Duties

The export of cinnamon on Government account from Ceylon was stopped in October, 1832.<sup>6</sup> Howard disposed of his stock by December, 1833.<sup>7</sup> Sales in Ceylon began in July, 1833. On the 1st of January, 1833, the Government stock was 10,624 bales.<sup>8</sup> Concurrently, the Government plantations were advertised for sale.

The first Government sales of cinnamon realised little more than the upset price and the demand was weak.<sup>9</sup> The Ceylon merchants, being mere commission agents, lacked the capital and credit necessary for extensive participation in the trade. Also, the competition from

1. Ib.

2. C. O. 54. 132. Samuel Carroll and 21 other mercantile firms to Treasury, 16th Jan. 1833.

3. C. O. 54. 127. Horton to Goderich, 31st March, 1833.

4. Bennett 70.

5. Ibid.

6. C. O. 54. 118. Horton to Goderich, 3rd October, 1832.

7. C. O. 55. 75. Stanley to Horton, 8th December, 1833.

8. C. G. G. 20th December, 1834.

9. C. O. 54. 129. Horton to Goderich, 1st September, 1823.

private cinnamon lowered prices. Ultimately, Government was compelled to forbid collection in its jungles, so as to safeguard itself and the private proprietor.

When the Government plantations were first put up for sale, a sort of "Cinnamo-mania," says Bennett,<sup>1</sup> prevailed for purchasing them. But it soon died out. Prices fell rapidly. Cinnamon could be purchased in Ceylon at prices varying from 6d. to 1s.,<sup>2</sup> and castes other than the Chaliyas took to its cultivation and preparation.<sup>3</sup> Horton was compelled to reduce the duty on third quality cinnamon to 2s. in November, 1834;<sup>4</sup> and to give notice in 1835 that the duty on the first and second qualities would be reduced to 2s. 6d. per lb. from April, 1836.<sup>5</sup> The relief, however, proved inadequate, and the duty was ultimately reduced to 1s. per lb.<sup>6</sup> At the request of the Ceylon merchants, Horton also set up an inspection system at the Government warehouses, in order to ensure quality and proper assortment.

Despite all precautions, the free trade system necessitated a further inevitable step. The sales of Government plantations had been neither so rapid nor so extensive as had been hoped. Government, with its great estates and capital, remained an unfair and formidable competitor of the merchants; especially as the upset price policy had been dropped. The merchants justly considered this a grievance. Therefore, in 1840, the Crown divested itself of its property in the plantations.<sup>7</sup> The cinnamon gardens were put up for sale, and Ekela, Kadirana, and Morotta passed at once into private hands. But the prospects were so depressing that Marendahm, from its vicinity to the Capital, was felt to be more profitable as a speculation for building villas.<sup>8</sup> It was disposed of in small lots; but not before neglect and decay had so depreciated its value, that the prices it fetched were only about £4 to £4. 10. 0. per acre.<sup>9</sup>

Only the duty of 1s. remained to Government as a source of income. Horton had remarked as early as 1833 that, "No mean can ultimately be preserved between restriction of sale to Government and entire freedom of trade without an export duty."<sup>10</sup> The prophecy

1. Bennett 70.  
2. Ibid.  
3. C. O. 54. 129. Horton to Gode-  
rich, 1st September, 1833.  
4. C. G. G. 14th. June, 1834.  
5. C. G. G. 27th May, 1835.

6. Tennent, ii, 153,  
7. Tennent ii, 153.  
8. Ibid.  
9. Bennett 70.  
10. C.O. 54. 127. Horton to Gode-  
rich, 31st March, 1833.

proved too true. Prices, which were 5s. 1d. per lb. in 1841, subsequently fell to 1s. 6d. A duty of 1s., which was 100% on the cost of production, was obviously too high. Viscount Torrington, therefore, abolished the duty.<sup>1</sup>

Some final figures may be given. Exports of cinnamon from Ceylon in 1841 totalled 452,039 lbs., which sold in London at 5s. 1d. per lb. In 1857, exports had risen to 887,959 lbs. but the price had fallen to 1s. 6d. Cassia, its world-wide competitor, totalled 1,262,164 lbs. at 10¼d. per lb. in 1841. In 1857 the price was 11¾d., but the quantity had fallen to 766,691 lbs. The explanation of these figures is that the major portion of the cinnamon exported was coarse, and its value, therefore, low. Cassia, which had formerly displaced fine cinnamon in the market of the world, was itself being driven out in turn by the coarser quality cinnamon at a reduced price.

### Conclusion

The Cinnamon trade was thus finally free. Its subsequent fate may be summarised in the words of Tennent. But, like every previous reform in relation to this ill-fated article the relief (i.e. the abolition of the export duty) came too late to be effectual. Had no export duty upon cinnamon been imposed when the monopoly of the growth was surrendered, in 1833, it may admit of a doubt whether Java would have been enabled to compete with the produce of Ceylon, which, in fineness and quality, was unsurpassed; but the time for the trial was past; the European consumers had become satisfied with the cheaper substitute of Cassia; and Singhalese cinnamon could no more be cultivated with advantage as of old. Under these circumstances, less care has been given of late years to the production of the finest qualities for the European market, and the coarser and less valuable shoots have been cut and peeled in larger proportions than formerly. Hence the gross quantity exported has been increasing, although the general character has deteriorated, and the price has proportionately declined. Excellence has ceased to be appreciated as of old; the cheaper substitute is received with sufficient favour, and the ancient staple of Ceylon is threatened with the loss of emolument, as it has parted with its old renown."<sup>2</sup>

1. Tennent ii, 164.

2. Tennent ii, 164.

# Ancient Geography of Ceylon.

BY

EUGENE BURNOUF

(Translated from the French)

Continued from p. 369

If the preceding observations do not permit us to accept the suggestion of Joinville on such slender grounds, they ought to lead us to look elsewhere for the explanation of *Salai* of Ptolemy. I remark here first of all that there is nothing so generally admitted as the connection of this word with the modern names of *Sielediba*, *Serendib*, *Sarantip*, *Silān*, *Seylam*, *Seilam*, *Sellam*, *Selam*, *Salam*, *Silan*, *Seylan*, *Seilan*, *Zeilan*, *Zeilam*, *Zellum*, *Celan*, *Syla* and others. De Barros supposes that the name Ceylan must have been known in the days of Ptolemy because that geographer calls that island *Salike* and its inhabitants *Sali*. In the same passage he states very positively the connection between the three names *Ceylan*, *Salike* and *Salai*. According to Teixeira the island of Ceylon is called *Sellan* or *Salan* from the name *Salai* of the ancient inhabitants and that *Selandive* is a composition of that word and *dive*. This opinion has been repeated by practically all the authors who have written about Ceylon, and among them we may name Bochart, who approves of the explanation of Teixeira, d' Anville, who states very positively the identity of *Salai*, *Sielediba*, *Selendib* or *Serendib* and *Ceylon*, Mannert who compares *Salai* with *Selan*, Dr Vincent who finds that the names *Salai* and *Selendibe* have great similarity, Gosselin who connects *Salike*, *Selendive* and *Ceylan*, the writer in the Quarterly Review who states that the modern name Ceylan comes from *Serendib*, *Selendib* *Seilan-deo* or island of Seilan according to the Arabs and other writers of the middle ages. Philaethes who conjectures that Ceylan comes from *Salai*, and finally de Bohlen who holds that *Serandio* of the Arabs as well as *Salike* of Ptolemy come from *Sinhalanka* which according to that German savant is the same word as *Sinhaladvipa*.

This opinion admitted by so many respectable authorities appears to me beyond dispute, but one must assign good reasons for what has only been but vaguely stated by the majority of the writers above

mentioned. The order they have followed in the derivation is often very unsafe, because, excepting the last named, they all ignore the existence of *Sinhala*, which is the common source of all those forms apparently so divergent. For my part I have no hesitation in thinking that *Sinhalam*, the neuter termination, has given rise to the various denominations of Ceylon since Cosmas, and even since Ammien Marcellin down to our day, if however one admits the reading *Serendivi* proposed by Vallois. Only one must begin not with the Sanskrit *Sinhalam* but with the Pail form *Sihalam* as used in the *Mahāvansa*. This is a point which has not been remarked by de Bohlen but which alone traces to their primitive source all the variations mentioned above. *Sielediba* of Cosmas<sup>1</sup> is exactly *Sīhaladīpe* of the *Mahāvansa*. In *Seren* and *Selen* the Arabs, according to usage of their own language, have dropped the vowel which forms an integral part of *Sīhalam*. In *Silan* on the other hand, which has been used since Marco Polo, the first vowel has been preserved owing to the use of an Arabic letter: it is followed by a very short vowel and it is only the syllable *ha* that has disappeared.

Now if *Silan* and *Selan* be compared with *Sala* of Ptolemy it will be noticed that both are contained in *Sīhalam* or *Sīhala*. If the Arabs had formed *Silan* or *Selam* from *Sihalam*, could not the form *Sala* be formed from *Sīhala*, which is the name of the inhabitants of the island? The variation *Salam* found in some of the manuscripts of Marco Polo is an example of the contraction of *Sīhala* in *Sala*.<sup>2</sup> Therefore until one is able to assign to the caste of *Chalia* a greater antiquity, I prefer to connect the *Salai* of Ptolemy, and with it *Salike* derived therefrom, with *Sīhala* rather than with *Chalia*. With the authors above named I prefer to connect each of the variations of the modern name *Ceylon* with *Sihalam*, though the Chinese think that the name *Ceylon* comes from *Silan* 'high mountain' from the Sanskrit *Sailam*.<sup>3</sup> This etymology

1. Cordiner Description of Ceylon 6.

2. In Burmese there is a still greater contraction of the Ancient name of Ceylon namely *Ziho*, which we should not have been able to trace to its source had we not found it written in Burmese characters. The proper spelling of the name is *Singhol*, and the difference between *Ziho* and *Singhol* is entirely due to the manner of Burmese pronunciation which often neglects the final consonants of a syllable and pronounces the final *el* regularly like the vowel *o*.

3. I am indebted to M. E. Jacquet for this information. He was good enough to communicate to me the following note taken from Kouang-toung-thoung-tchi or "General description of the Province of Canton; In the language of the barbarians of the South a high mountain is *Si-lan*, whence the name (of the kingdom of *Silan*)."

is indeed highly ingenious and is justified by the number of high mountains which covers the surface of Ceylon. But where can we have the assurance that the Chinese were not merely playing on the word *Silan* by giving it an explanation which is unknown to the Sinhalese? It may be regarded as certain that the name *Sailam* high mountain is not considered by the Sinhalese as a name given to their island. The name *Malaya* (*Malea* of Ptolemy) in the *Mahāvansa*, and *Kanda* (whence comes the modern Kandy) used by Sinhalese writers, designate the central and mountainous part of the island, and it would seem that it is this meaning that the Chinese thought they saw in the word *Silan* which they heard pronounced and of which they tried to find the primitive meaning.

It is not at all necessary to consider the etymology given with extensive developments by Joao de Barros<sup>1</sup> and Diogo de Couto.<sup>2</sup> The traditions on which this etymology is based will be examined in our researches on the ancient population of Ceylon. Here it is enough to state that according to the Portuguese *Ceilan* or *Cilan* is not the proper name of the Island which we call by that name, but a name given to it by the Chins or Chinese, who lost a large number of vessels on the shallows that separate Manar from the continent, and called that point *Chilao* or *Chinlao*, "the perils of the Chinese," a name which the Persian and Arab sailors extended to the whole of Ceylon. Lopez de Castanheda<sup>3</sup> applies the name of *Chilao*, like Barros, to the shallows between Ceylon and Tuticorin, and states that it was the Persians and Arabs who, on account of the navigable channel between Manar and India, gave to the Island of Ceylon that name which according to him means 'something like channel'.<sup>4</sup> This explanation of Barros, of which we have already spoken in connection with the Sanskrit name *Sinhala*, is developed at great length by Is. Vossius, who thought that the ancient name of Ceylon was *Chinilao* or *Sinilao*, that is to say the *nilao* or 'shipwreck' of the Chinese, and added that the name still appears in that of the town of *Chilao*. If, as Barros and Vossius say, these explanations are founded on written authorities or on traditions that were current in Ceylon, we may remark that testimonies and traditions

1. See Ferguson's Translation JCBRAS. XX 31.

2. See Ib. 66.

3. Hist. do Descobrimento e Conquista da India pelos Portuguese Liv. II. C. XXII.

4. 'Cousa de canal.'



no less respectable can be adduced to the contrary, especially those that refer to the caste of *Chalias* and to their establishment near Chilaw, named, according to Sinhalese chronicles, after the Sanskrit word *sālā* 'hall'.

Finally we believe with Th Hyde, Renaudot<sup>1</sup> and Wahl, that *Serendib* and *Sarantip* are sufficiently close to *Selen* to have to turn, as M. de Chézy does, to two Sanskrit words *Shvīrāmadvīpa* 'Island of Sri Rama', the hero who, according to Indian Mythology, conquered Ceylon. *Serendib* is only *Selendib*, and *Selen* is the word Ceylon. The analysis we have now concluded of the various transformations of the Sinhalese name of Ceylon has led us from ancient times down to the epoch of the discovery by the Portuguese in 1505. One can now appreciate our reason for saying that the name *Sinhala* (which of all the names of the Island is the one which is most intimately connected with the national traditions of the Sinhalese) has replaced all the others. The task we had begun would now be ended were it not for the four other names which according to the narratives of some modern travellers still pass as having been in use in former times among the Sinhalese and as based on written authorities.

Joao de Barros, when he advanced, as we have seen above, that the name Ceylon was not a name proper to that island which we call by that name, stated<sup>2</sup> that formerly it was called *Ilanare* or according to others *Tranate*, and that the name was still current in his time among the learned Sinhalese. Diogo de Couto<sup>3</sup> who appears to have had more exact information than Barros about the national traditions of that island, is of opinion that the name *Ilanare*, which he writes *Illenare*, is the second of those names given to Ceylon which according to him was formerly called *Lancao*. This name which he translates "kingdom of the Island", far from being a national term of the Sinhalese is according to Couto, the one by which Ceylon is known to foreigners. Is. Vossius without distinguishing between a national term and one used only by Malabars, gives it under the form of *Ilanare* and gives it the meaning of 'insular kingdom'. It belongs to the savants who have made a special study of the dialects of South India to verify whether the word *Ilanare* or *Ilēnare* really means "kingdom of the

1. *Anciens Relations des Indes et de la Chine* p. 133.

2. JCBRAS XX, 30.

3. Ib. 65.

Island." The manuscript vocabularies in the Bibliothèque Impériale, both Malabar and Tamil, in which I searched in vain for this word, are not sufficiently comprehensive to justify the statement that the name *Ilanare* does not belong to either of the languages of the extremity of India. We must admit that the syllable *nāre*, Malabar *nāḍa*, Tamil *nāḍu*, is a word which by permutation which is so frequent in India of *dā* into the liquid *r*, can become *nāra*. What I can affirm is that the name *Ilanare* as well as *Tranate*, where the word *nate* appears for *nāḍa*, is not found in any tradition of Sinhalese origin known to me. It is equally difficult to admit that *Ilanare*, as Cordier<sup>1</sup> supposes, is a term of Sanskrit origin expressing abundance. I know of no Sanskrit word that can be connected with *Ilanare*. As for *Tranate*, it may be mentioned that the syllable *tra*, which remains when *nata* (*nāḍa*) is removed, is found in another name of Ceylon which is given in the map of Ptolemy by Andrew Schott, published in 1513: but *Tragana* is as unknown as *Tranate*.

I think the same can be said of *Tenarisim*, a name which some travellers gave as the real name of Ceylon. Barbosa<sup>2</sup> says so explicitly in so many words that the name of *Zeilan* which is used by the people who trade with that island, and among others by the Arabs and Persians; but that the Indians use that of *Tenarisim*,<sup>3</sup> which means the 'land of happiness.' According to Mandelslo, who writes *Tenarisin* and translates it as Barbosa does, this name is used by the Indians and by the inhabitants of the island. The name *Tenarisin* is also given by Stuckius in his scholia on the 'Periplus of the Erythrean Sea,' and by Is. Vossius in his notes on Mela, apparently after the Portuguese, as these two savants follow the orthography of Barbosa. I do not know where these voyagers found the name *Tenarisin*, but I can say that there is not the least trace of it in the Sinhalese chronicles published or unpublished that are in my possession. No doubt one can find in the Sinhalese language the terms *tena* place and *rishi* desire, the combination of which might make *Tenarisin*; but it does not give the meaning of land of delights, and moreover it will be difficult to show these words in any Sinhalese text. It is probably a name given to the Island of Ceylon by foreign sailors.

1. *Description of Ceylon*, I 6.

2. Duarte Barbosa. *A Description of the Coasts of East Africa & Malabar etc.* Translated by Stanley (Hakluyt Society 1866) p. 166.

3. *tanah sari* See Hob. Job. S.V.

Lopez de Castanheda in his History of the Discovery of India by the Portuguese and Is. Vossius in the note so often referred to on the passage of Pomponius Mela referring to Taprobane, give also as a name of Ceylon the word *Hibenaro*,<sup>1</sup> which they translate 'fertile land.' This is a word of which I do not know the origin. I only remark the final *naro*, which might well be, as I have already conjectured in the case of *Ilenare*, the Tamil *nāḍu*. There is no trace in Sinhalese sources of *Ilam* and *Salabha* which Friar Paulin de Saint Barthelemy cites without indicating his source. The first of these names may well be the first part of *Ilangai* or *Yelanki*,<sup>1</sup> the Tamil form of *Lanka*, formed by the addition of the vowel *i* which is usually placed before the initial *l* and *r* in the language. At least I prefer this hypothesis to that of Wahl, who compares *Ilam* with the Sanskrit *Hiranaya*, 'gold' and believes that it means the 'island of gold'. Is *Ilam* perhaps connected with *Prilam*, mentioned by a more ancient authority since it is found in the mappemonde made in 1508 by J. Ruysch. These two names, however, are so rarely mentioned and the writers who mention them give us no details to help us to trace their origin. As for *Salabha* which Wahl writes *Salābhabhū*, I have not found it in any Sinhalese chronicle. But I cannot translate it as Friar Paulin does according to Wahl, and Dr. Vincent,<sup>3</sup> by *sal* 'true,' *labha* 'gain'. If the word *salabha* exists it can only be a term which doubtless means 'rich'. One must not in my opinion admit the connection which Paulin, and after him Dr. Vincent, tries to establish between *Salabha* and *Salike*, nor even the orthography of *S'alāva* or *S'alāvam*, into which Wilford transforms the denominations given by Paulin, in order to connect them with *Shaliya*, who are, says he, named *Sālava* in the Puranas. These transformations which Wilford makes without informing the reader of it and without justifying it by citing any text or alleging any philological ground for it, is an example of the way in which that author usually deals with the curious materials gathered by him.

I think I have said enough about the names of Ceylon which I have referred to. They are found only in the narratives of modern travellers, and for that reason we might have omitted them in these researches. We had to mention them, however, because the authors

1. In Castanheda (II, XXII) 'Hibernaro' is only an error for Ilenara.
2. Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, Introd. p. LXXXVIII.
3. The Commence and Navigation of the Ancients in the Indian Ocean, II 494.

who give them say that they were in use in Ceylon or India in ancient times. It is a very striking fact that it is the ancient names which we can explain more easily, while the more modern designations defy analysis: that is because the former is connected with the national traditions of the Sinhalese, which we can trace to their true form in the written monuments, while the others are only mentioned by travellers generally illversed in the languages and history of the countries to which they attribute them. Perhaps the discovery of works still unknown to us might later on supply the means of interpreting the names which are inexplicable today. This is a hope which we are the more entitled to entertain in that the original texts which we were able to consult are but a scanty portion of the written documents of various kinds which the Sinhalese have.

Having now reached the end of our researches on the names given to the Island of Ceylon from the most ancient times, when it was known to the Greeks, up to its discovery by the Portuguese in 1505, we have only to summarise in a few words the results which we think we have succeeded in establishing in this memoir.

1. We have drawn from the Chronicles of Ceylon written in Pali and in Sinhalese, the names by which that island was known by its inhabitants from the most ancient times. We found these names to be three in number, of which the first Lanka, was employed by the Brahmans of the continent to designate that island, and in adopting it the Sinhalese only imitated their neighbours; while the two others *Tambraparni* and *Sinhala* are connected with the beginnings of the history of the Sinhalese and with the traditions relating to the first colonisation of the island as preserved in the original chronicles.

2. Examining these traditions from the special point of view of geography, and searching for the explanations of these two names, we found that the Pali and Sinhalese texts gave a very satisfactory explanation which we tried to justify by philological arguments supplied to us by the Sanskrit language of which Pali was only a derivative. In that way we found for certain that all the ancient names of Ceylon were of Sanskrit origin, a very important result which removed all hesitation about the country from which hailed the people who gave the Island of Ceylon its name and civilisation.

3. With these names admitted by the Sinhalese, and which we must hold as authentic we have compared those preserved to us by the Greek writers, and we have shown that the most ancient of them

Taprobane is from *Tambraparni* of the Sinhalese. It is true that about *Palaisimoundou* we have not been able to establish anything equally satisfactory, but we have shown the probability of the opinion that connects the *Salat* of Ptolemy, and consequently *Saliké*, with the national name of the Sinhalese, namely *Sihala* as it is in Pali.

4. Finally to complete the list of names given to the island of Ceylon either by the inhabitants or by those who from ancient times had intercourse with them, we have indicated at the end of our researches the names of Ceylon found in the narratives of travellers who visited the island from the beginning of the sixteenth century down to our day.

It might perhaps be that to establish the results which we have briefly resumed we had to enter into details of a somewhat minute character. This is because in a question of this kind, which has not been tackled before and in which everything had to be investigated, philology has a very important part to play, seeing it is both the means of discovery and the medium of control in researches of this nature. It was not enough to ascertain the ancient names of Ceylon; when we had found that we had still to proceed to inquire into their meaning and determine the language to which they belonged in order to find the origin of the people who bear that name. This is what we attempted to do, and by thus connecting the beginnings of the Sinhalese nation with the Indian emigrants from Bengal several centuries before our era, we have laid the first stone of the history of an island which, thanks to its wealth and fertility and situation, has once been the first mart of the East and which in after times by preserving the books attributed to the founder of Buddhism has become in our time a place worthy of the attention of historians and philologists.

# The Kandyan State Trial.

EDITED BY

FATHER S. G. PERERA, S.J.

(Contd. from page 379)

*Sixteenth witness-* Lenedorre<sup>1</sup> Unnanse: *I have known Mahalle and Ratnapalla and Embilimeegama a long time; those priests live in the pansala of Malwatte Wihare: it is only by my living near them that I could know of their character. I cannot speak of their character from my own knowledge. I have witnessed in this District Court that they conduct themselves contrary to their religion. I could not believe them on their oath: in whatever way Embilimeegama swore I could not believe him on his oath.*

Cross-examined by Mr. Perring—According to our religion they could not lend out money; that is very bad. I should not speak to the good of my own character: if any one spoke bad of my character I would defend it: whether Mr. Wright<sup>2</sup> believes it or not I will assert it. I recollect a case of the Liane-arachy in the District Court. I lost the case<sup>3</sup> It won't be painful to me to speak of it. I was never censured by Government. I always received pardon from Government, I cannot speak of the respectability of Embilimeegama, as I am not of that temple. I can only speak as to his character.

*Seventeenth witness-* Oolangamoowe<sup>4</sup> Unnanse: *I know Mahalle and Ratnapalla and Embilimeegama. From my knowledge of their character I would not believe them on their oath. When they are not sincere to their religion I would not believe them. They (Mahalle and Ratnapalla) are not on good terms with the 2nd prisoner: sometimes they are on good terms with the 1st prisoner, and sometimes not: on bad terms now. I go to the 1st prisoner's house; therefore I happened to know. Mahalle and Ratnapalla are of a different temple: I used to go there only occasionally; therefore I cannot speak of them. I don't know Ippologamme Unnanse.*

1. Lenadora Dharmarakkhita Unnanse of Asgiriya Vihare.
2. District Judge of Kandy and foreman of the Jury.
3. Lawrie's Gazetteer (I 168, 353, 355, 356; II 507) mentions several cases of this witness.
4. Hulangomuwe.

Here the evidence for the defence closed, and the following witnesses were called by the King's Advocate in reply.

Captain Forbes, Asistant Government Agent, Matale: *I know Welagedere Rate Adikareme of Oodogodde Korle, which is an office of influence and responsibility. He was appointed to the office at the suggestion of the 2nd Adigar, when nearly all the other headmen were reduced in consequence of a change in the manner of collecting the land tax. My opinion of him was favourable; or I would not have appointed him to that office. I know of the 2nd Adigar and 2nd prisoner having been on bad terms formerly: they have lately been on good terms. One month previous to the arrest, he was at the party given by the 2nd Adigar to the Governor, and was then on good terms with him. Not cross-examined.*

Mr. Turnour, Government Agent—*I know Mahalle and Ratnapalla Unnanse: the former is a stipended priest, the latter is his pupil. Formerly stipended priests were selected by the Resident,<sup>1</sup> then by the Board and after the abolition of the Board, by me.<sup>2</sup> The selection is made both from the respectability of their characters and their sacerdotal qualifications. If any complaint had been preferred against them, it would of course be investigated; but I know of none having been brought against either. Mahalle was made a stipended priest by the late Sir John D'Oyly<sup>3</sup> in 1823, and as far as I have had an opportunity of judging, he has always been looked up to for respectability and acquirements. I have formed this opinion, rather from the estimation in which he has been held by the principal priests and Chiefs, than from my own observations. Certain charges<sup>4</sup> had long been preferred, and remained uninvestigated against the high-priest,<sup>5</sup> who died the night before last, and it became*

1. The Kandyan Provinces were administered (1815—1816) by a Resident helped by two Assistant Residents stationed at Kandy and Badulla. In 1816 a Board of Commissioners was appointed with the Resident as First Commissioner, but on the death of the Resident in 1824 that office was abolished and the Board administered the Government till 1833 when Provinces were constituted and Government Agents appointed as in the Maritime provinces.

2. As Government Agent.

3. Resident of Kandy and First Commissioner, died in Kandy, 25th May, 1824.

4. "In 1832 sixteen of the Asgiriya priests accused the Maha Nayaka of having forged a sannas. It was admitted that a forgery had been committed, but the Maha Nayaka stated he had received the forged sannas from Ellepola Unnanse, believing it to be genuine." Law. Gaz. 70.

5. Yatanwala Maha Nayaka, appointed 27th July, 1824.

at last necessary to appoint a Court of Enquiry. The Court was to consist of 15 priests and 7 Chiefs, who were acknowledged by both parties to be the most respectable and the best qualified in the country.

On referring to my Diary which is now before the Court, I find that the lay members of the Court were the three Adigars and Dunuwille (2nd prisoner) and three other Chiefs, and that Mahalle Unnanse's name stands the 11th. When Mahalle Unnanse visited me in company with the other priests he was treated as other priests of respectability on all occasions.

(Mr. Staples referred to the Diary and found the date of the meeting of that Court to be 31st May, 1834).

Wattegedere Annu Nayaka Unnanse<sup>1</sup> was, I always thought, a priest of great respectability, until lately when he was dismissed after trial before the Council<sup>2</sup> for having threatened to degrade Mahalle and Ratnapalla Unnanses for giving information of this conspiracy to Government. Lenedorre is a man of bad character, and a case is now pending against him, on which I have made a reference to the King's Advocate, but he is better known to Mr. Wright than to me.

Hettegedere Korale was formerly active and enterprising, and was at the particular request of Captain Mc Pherson<sup>3</sup> appointed headman over the Cinnamon villages, in addition, to his office of Korale, but lately I understand he has become violent and given to drinking. This character of him I have heard from Mr. Rodney.<sup>4</sup>

Not cross-examined.

The evidence on both sides having closed in the afternoon of Monday, the 19th and, the Court having assented to the objection raised by the prisoners' Counsel, under the new rules of practice, against the Deputy King's Advocate's asserted right to address the Jury in reply after having called witnesses in reply, the Court was adjourned till this morning (21st). Soon after 11 o'clock, the Court opened.

The Deputy King's Advocate, Mr. Perring, after stating that he bowed on the present occasion to the decision of the Court on the question of the Crown's right of reply, without however admitting the

1. Fifteenth witness for the defence.

2. The Executive Council.

3. Captain Ewan McPherson of the 78th Regiment. Commandant of Madawalatenne and Agent of Government for Harispattuwa and Tumpane.

4. John Stratford Rodney of the Ceylon Civil Service, Agent of Government in the Seven Korales.



question to be finally settled, observed that he was the less anxious to press his alleged right in the present instance, as he conceived the case against the prisoners to be too clear to call for a reply; and he added, that he considered it a fortunate circumstance for the prisoners that their plans had been timely arrested, so as to prevent the perpetration of acts of violence which would, in the event of a conviction, have precluded all hope of mercy.

The Foreman of the Jury (Henry Wright, Esqr., District Judge of Kandy) here rose and expressed his anxiety to communicate to the Court, as nearly as we could catch his words—"an unpleasant circumstance which had occurred with regard to the native portion of the Jury"—when he was immediately stopped by His Lordship in the following manner :—

"Excuse me Mr. Wright, for interrupting you—but I can listen to nothing affecting the Jury, unless either the King's Advocate or the prisoners' Counsel is prepared to make a definite motion upon the subject. Any other course, as far as I can foresee, might tend to the very worst consequences.'

Here the conversation dropped and the learned Judge proceeded to address the Jury in the following words :

Gentlemen of the Jury!

We are now arrived at that stage of this painful and protracted investigation, when, the Advocates on both sides having discharged their respective duties,—and well and faithfully have they discharged them—it remains for us to consider the serious and responsible part which more immediately devolves upon ourselves. The fate of the prisoners at the bar will eventually hang upon your decision. The task of preparing your minds for a right decision by explaining the law and recapitulating the evidence is mine. And I trust, that we shall not suffer ourselves to be moved either by the zeal of the Advocates, or the intense interest which the people appear to take in our proceedings, from that calm and dispassionate frame of mind which can alone enable us to discharge our respective duties with satisfaction to the country or to ourselves.

Gentlemen—I need scarcely remind you that as honest men, as loyal subjects, and as guardians of the public safety, you are now solemnly required by your country, without looking to the right hand or to the left, uninfluenced by the dread or popular clamour on the one

side, or the desire of popular applause on the other, to return a conscientious verdict, whether to acquit or to condemn, as you shall answer for it to your God at the great day of judgment.

Gentlemen—Before I enter upon the case, I wish to make a few general observations which the occasion calls for, and first let me congratulate you and congratulate the country on the animating spectacle which the jury box presents. I see before me a body of gentlemen, chosen and selected by name by the prisoners themselves from a vast number of jurors, as men in whose probity, intelligence, and general qualifications for the solemn duties imposed upon them, they could repose unlimited confidence, whilst the Advocates for the Crown have acknowledged you to be in all respects unimpeachable; nor is this all—I have the satisfaction to address a jury of respectable English gentlemen associated with respectable native headmen—a happy omen let us hope of the gradual softening down of those prejudices arising from difference of colour, clime and caste, which are the great bar to all improvement, and the fruitful cause of endless discord. Gentlemen, whether native or European, whether natural or artificial distinctions divide us, we know from the highest authority that God has formed of one flesh and blood all the inhabitants of the earth, and that countless millions of all nations, peoples and tongues, shall one day stand before his judgment seat. But Gentlemen, our union is of a closer description than that of mere fellow-men. Let us never forget that as British subjects we are united by an indissoluble bond—that all of us, without distinction, owe allegiance to one and the same Gracious Sovereign, whom whether present in person or by his representative the Governor, we are bound to honour and to obey,—whilst in our several stations and capacities, we are all alike religiously called upon to revere, uphold, and maintain those laws, and that form of Government, of which, for the general benefit of us all, he is the recognized constitutional fountain head.

Gentlemen—The crime of high treason, with which the prisoners stand charged, is the greatest and the gravest known to the law, for it must be obvious to every one that the tremendous consequences to which, unless timely checked, it directly leads, are beyond calculation—when “Treason stalks abroad” the bands of society are loosened—the property and the life of every individual are placed in jeopardy, and a prospect opens, of confusion, blood and rapine, from the contemplation of which the mind recoils.

Treason, Gentlemen, is a crime the moral turpitude of which may possibly vary according to circumstances, but which in the eye of the law admits not of palliation or excuse, whilst on the other hand, circumstances may very considerably aggravate the natural heinousness of the crime. Do not imagine, Gentlemen, that I make these observations with any the slightest intention of exciting your feelings against the prisoners—I should be unworthy of the situation I have the honour to fill were I capable of so grossly abusing it—No, Gentlemen, my object is far different. I wish to place before you in its true colours and full magnitude, the crime with which the prisoners are charged, that you may in the first place feel the fearful responsibility you will incur by convicting them without a thorough persuasion of their guilt. But at the same time, I am bound to remind you, that the argument is equally strong the other way, and that by a hasty acquittal of men labouring under a charge so heavy you will incur no less fearful responsibility for the consequences that may ensue.

I have said, Gentlemen, that High Treason admits in the eye of the law of no palliation or excuse, but is, under any circumstance, the greatest crime of which a subject can be guilty. If, for example, instead of living, as we have the happiness to do, under the mild and benignant sway of the British Government, it were our misfortune to groan beneath the weight of Kandyan tyranny, the iron rule of the Portuguese or the jealous despotism of the Dutch, the case would still be the same. Any treasonable attempt to subvert the existing Government, good or bad, to displace the constituted authorities, popular or tyrannical, is the highest crime known to the law, and subject all persons engaged in such attempts to the highest penalty the law can inflict.

But though circumstances can afford no palliation, they certainly may and do in many instances deeply aggravate the natural heinous character of high treason; and of such instances the present (if it has actually been committed) is unquestionably one. Again, Gentlemen, I repeat, I have not the remotest intention of inflaming your minds against the prisoners. The question of their guilt or innocence it will be for you to decide, when I shall have laid before you in detail (as I shall presently proceed to do) such observations as may be necessary upon the evidence adduced before you, and the law as it applies to the evidence. At present my remarks are not so much addressed to the particular case as to the general character of High

Treason against the present Government of this island where the crime is happily so rare and where from the very infrequency, it is doubly necessary, that I should point out the peculiar character of the crime whenever it does unhappily occur here. I assert then, Gentlemen, that treason against the British Government of Ceylon must of necessity, wear an aspect of uncommon malignity, because never had any people greater reason for lasting gratitude than the inhabitants of this beautiful Island, but more especially those of the Kandyan District, on the happy change in their condition, consequent to the deposition of the Kandyan Tyrant, and the transfer of the Government to the British Crown. The abolition of torture and of all inhuman punishments—the gradual extinction of slavery in the maritime provinces at least—the abandonment of the old profitable monopolies, and the right to exact compulsory labour—the adoption of extensive plans for the education of the people—the formation of noble roads by which the most difficult parts of the Island are connected together and the comfort of the people immeasurably augmented—the substitution of known and fixed Laws which the Sovereign himself dares not and cannot go beyond, for the capricious and arbitrary decrees of a despot;—aye Gentlemen, and the public solemn administration of those Laws here in this very hall, from whence, as from a Star Chamber, issued, but a few short years ago, a tyrant's bloody edicts, founded on secret and *ex parte* statements, obtained by torture or prompted by self-interest or revenge; and “tho' last not least” the introduction of that noble institution, which, with all its defects, all its abuses, (and what human institution is free from abuses and defects?) is the pride and the glory of our country and the true palladium of our liberties—that noble institution which now enables me to address you—the Trial by Jury. And here as immediately connected with the subject, I cannot help seizing the opportunity of expressing my regret at the recent unmerited attacks made upon the learned King's Advocate for his alleged reflections on two former juries—and of publicly declaring the intention of my brother Judges and myself to vindicate his and our own conduct at the first meeting of the Court in Colombo. To return, Gentlemen, these are a few of the blessings acquired by the inhabitants of Ceylon from its subjection to the British Crown, and never, I will boldly assert, was the paternal care of our Gracious Sovereign better represented in this portion of his immense dominions than by our present respected Governor. Gentlemen, this is neither the time nor the place for slavish flattery, nor am I the individual to offer

it to any man, however exalted his station. I should disgrace the office I have the honour to fill—I should deserve to be dismissed from it with ignominy—could I at any time, but more especially on an occasion so solemn as the present, prostitute the seat of justice to the purpose of base adulation to any man or body of men. But, Gentlemen, on an occasion like the present, when the character of the Government is in some degree at stake, I feel that I am called upon—not indeed to flatter but to make a plain and bold declaration of the truth. I assert then, Gentlemen, without fear of contradiction, that the Government of Sir Robert Wilmot Horton in all its broad and important features, (for the details of Government no person not actually engaged in its administration is qualified to judge) will bear a comparison with that of any of his distinguished predecessors—not certainly in the glitter of arms, (for happily he has as yet had no occasion for the display of military power) but in the nobler and the more enduring arts of peace. I assert that never were the wants of the people, whether on occasions of pressing emergency or those of a permanent description, more promptly and benevolently administered to—I need but instance the active measures for the relief of the sufferers by the late<sup>1</sup> Inundation, in proof of the one, and the establishment of a Savings Bank, and Friend in Need Societies in illustration of the other. I maintain that never were the complaints of the people more patiently heard, their grievances more readily redressed, their rights more sacredly respected. Bold then and wicked in no common degree—traitors of no ordinary stamp, must those men be—it is not for me to pronounce the prisoners such—who could for a moment seriously wish, much more deliberately intend and actually attempt, not merely to deprive the people of blessings such as those I have enumerated, but to bring them back to a state of slavery—to a reign of terror when one might naturally, and without hyperbole, expect to see the bloody tragedy of Ehelepola renewed—the whole catalogue of horrid and inhuman punishments resorted to, and the mutilated victims of Kandyan atrocity meeting us at every turn.

*(To be continued.)*

1. In December, 1834.

## Notes and Queries.

### CEYLON DOCUMENTS IN THE TORRE DO TOMBO, LISBON LIVROS DAS MONCOES XIII, 1620.

- D14 That the Generals and Captains of the Field should not meddle in the elections of the Chamber and the administration of the City of Columbo : 22 March : 1620 f. 27
- 18 That the statue of a General of Ceylon placed in the Chamber of Columbo be removed and that the one of the Angel which was there before be replaced : 22 March, f. 35
- 34 That no one holding an office in the Island or City of Columbo could cause any work or vessel to be made, so as not to withdraw people from cultivation of lands ; and that the patents that are registered in the cartulary of the Fazenda be observed : 22 March, f. 77.
- 49 That the Churches of the Coast of the Fishery be restored to the Religious of the Company, removing from them the persons appointed by the Bishop of Cochin and his Chapter ; and that Acts be drawn up and deposited in the Torre do Tombo of the State and copies sent : 26 March, f. 97
- 51 That as the *cazados* of the City of Columbo in the Conquista of Ceylon offered to go at their own cost to the opposite coast and bring Madunel prisoner, to avert the disturbances that resulted, and the General did not accept the offer, he must be punished as he deserves : 26 March, f. 101
- 53 That the Bishop of Cochin be sent as soon as possible to visit Ceylon giving him all the assistance necessary for the purpose and whatever is asked be carefully observed : 5 March f. 105
- 58 That it is of great importance to preserve peace with the neighbouring kings and to make peace with those who are not at peace ; and about the dispositions for war in the Kingdom of Jafanapatam ; 5 March, f. 115
- 63 About the Generals of Ceylon forcing the *cazados* of Columbo to take part in war ; and when it should be done : 26 March, f. 120
- 64 Whether the *cazados* of Columbo bind themselves to maintain the lascarins ; the work of the fortifications of Jafanapatam, etc : that information should be sent about all these matters : 26 March, f. 127
- 67 About the confirmation of the pact which the City of Columbo made with the King of Candea : 26 March, f. 133
- 74 About the fortification of the City of Columbo and what should be done in the matter : 26 March, f. 147
- 87 About the money which Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira when Captain-General of Ceylon took from the armada to pay the soldiers ; about which the Regulations of the Contos of Goa must be observed : 27 March, f. 173

- 97 About avoiding the embezzlement of the Roal fazenda, ordering the Auditor of the Island of Ceylon every year to prepare a return of the receipts and expenses and send it without delay : 26 March, f. 193
- 109 About not having a monopoly of salt in Ceylon : 26 March, f. 216
- 122 About hearing complaints against the Generals of Ceylon, and of not appointing them to other offices without such inquiry : 22 March, f. 243
- 123 About the inquiry that was held in Ceylon regarding the mutiny that took place in Columbo; that action must be taken against the guilty according to their deserts and copies of the sentences sent : 22 March, f. 245
- 127 About abolishing the post of Auditor of the Conquista of Ceylon on account of the mistakes committed in that office : 23 March, f. 253
- 132 About the claim of the City of Columbo regarding the setting free of *areca*, and that forty bahars of cinnamon be conceded to them to be distributed among the poor citizens; the subject to be treated in Council : 26 March, f. 263
- 134 About the demand of the Chamber of Columbo for the same privileges as are enjoyed by the City of Evora : 23 March, f. 267
- 146 About the exemption which the City of Columbo claims regarding the monopoly of cinnamon : 26 March, f. 291
- 163 About the complaints of the Chamber of Columbo against Captain Dom Nuno Alvares Pereira regarding the withdrawal of villages from the *cazados* and *foreiros* of that country : 22 March, f. 325
- 166 About the informations contained in the complaints of the inhabitants of Columbo; that the guilty be punished and the vexation of the natives of the country be avoided : 23 March, f. 330.

## EPIGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES, 1933.

During the year under review, inked estampages have been prepared of 163 inscriptions and eye-copies of eight. Among these, there are 85 inscriptions which have not been previously noticed by the Department. The numbers given above include the estampages prepared during the year of all the inscriptions known to exist at Mihintale, consisting of cave, slab, pillar and rock records. Mr Bell in his Annual Report for 1911-12, has noticed all the inscriptions, numbering 64, at Mihintale, Rajagirikanda and Annaikuttikanda, then known. To this number have now been added 32 more epigraphs, mostly Brahmi inscriptions in caves. Some of these epigraphs newly discovered at Mihintale, as will be seen in the sequel, are of considerable historical interest. Among the records discovered during the year, the following may be worthy of note.

An inscription found in a cave near the Kantaka Cetiya (popularly called Kiribadapavu Dageba) at Mihintale, which mentions a king, named Gamini Uti Maharaja. The donor in this inscription appears to have been a princess of the king's household whose name and relationship to the king, though given in the record, are now obliterated. The king appearing in this inscription can definitely be indentified as Uttiya (*circa* 207-197 B.C.), the younger brother and successor of Devanampiyā Tissa, in whose reign Buddhism was introduced to Ceylon. Uttiya

is the earliest Ceylon king to whom stone inscriptions can be ascribed without doubt.

Another inscription near Kantaka Cetiya records the dedication of the cave in which it is engraved, by a princess named Sumanadevi (? the daughter) of the same monarch. In this record, the epithet "Damamita" (Friend of the Religion) seems to be given to Uttiya.

A record in a cave at Rajagirikanda, near Mihintale, contains the name Devanapi (ya) Tisa. This epigraph, incised rather shallowly in small characters, is fragmentary, but the script appears to be more archaic than that of any other record at Mihintale: and it is possible that it belongs to one of the early kings named Tissa.

Yet another cave-inscription in the Kantaka Cetiya area mentions a princess named Mahabi (?Mahambika) who is said to have been the daughter of the king of the Island. This vague way of referring to her father makes it impossible to identify him with any of the kings mentioned in the Mahavansa.

The Brahmi inscription on the drip-ledge of cave No. 2 at Jahapagama in the Kurunegala District mentions that the cave was dedicated to the *sangha* in the reign of Gamini Abaya. This monarch may be either Duttha Gamani Abbaya (*circa* 101-77 B.C.) or Vatta Gamani Abbaya (*circa* 44-1 B.C.).

A rock inscription at Kalkulam in the Kottiyar Pattu, Trincomalee District, is dated in the reign of a king named Gamini Abaya who from the script may be indentified with Gajabahu I (*circa* 173-195 A.D.).

Another inscription on the same rock is dated in the tenth year of a king styled Sirisangbo, who is probably Sena II (*circa* 846-880 A.D.). This record mentions the foundation of a *stupa* on the rock Udgala and the benefactions made to it by various individuals. It is of some interest as it shows that the various terms used to denote the divisions and subdivisions of fields, now in use in the Sinhalese villages, date as far back as the ninth century at least.

A Tamil slab inscription discovered at Palamottai near Kantalai in the Trincomalee District is dated in the eighth year of Jayabahu (*circa* 1122 A.D.) and mentions a Saiva shrine called Vijayaraja Isvaram presumably founded by Vijayabahu I. Kantalai in this record is called Vijayaraja Caturvedimangalam, showing that the place was then inhabited by Brahmins. The record registers some donations by a private individual to the shrine; and the charity is placed under the protection of the Velaikkaras, a regiment of mercenaries employed by the Sinhalese kings of that time.

Another one of the inscribed *gavu*-stones set up by Nissanka Malla (1187-1196) on the high way from Magama to Polonnaruva was discovered this year at a place, about three miles to the west of Veragodagala, in the heart of the Tamankaduva forest. The text of the inscription is the same as that of the Katugahagolge pillar, published in Vol. III pt. 6 of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*. The edict on the present pillar is also addressed to the people of Rohona, thus showing that the boundaries of the Rohona country extended as far as the Mahaveliganga even when the capital city was Polonnaruva. *Administration Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, 1933.*